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ABSTRACT

The paper examines literature concerned with the relationship individuals form between experiences in their work and nonwork spheres, an issue which is most pronounced in societies where a marked separation exists between the institution of work and social institutions. The author identifies established theoretical models and evaluates empirical evidence for the relationship. The work-nonwork relationship is described by two basic models: spillover (a continuation of work experiences away from work), and compensatory (a reaction to work experiences that guides the selection of nonwork experiences). It has been pointed out by several sociologists that if work lacks meaning, the worker seeks meaning in leisure activities. Another implication is that bad work experiences (alienation) spill over to nonwork activities. Empirical research is classified into two groups: the relationship between work and activities in the nonwork sphere, and studies attempting to relate specific characteristics of people's jobs to their nonwork activities. The studies reviewed are discussed with respect to the spillover and compensatory relationship models. Conclusions and recommendations revolve around building upon past research and theories in constructing more in-depth studies of these relationships. (JB)

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WORK AND NONWORK: A REVIEW OF THEORY AND EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

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University of New Mexico

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Theoretical and empirical literature dealing with various aspects of the relationship between work and nonwork are reviewed. An assessment is made of where we stand in our accumulated theoretical and empirical knowledge. Suggestions for directions of future research are given.

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The relationship an individual forms between his experiences in the work sphere of his life and his experiences in the nonwork sphere is an issue only in societies where there is a marked separation between the institution of work and other social institutions. Primitive societies are characterized by a fusion between what may be termed work and what may be termed nonwork. In many such societies, it is impossible to determine where work leaves off and nonwork begins (J. Cohen, 1953; Curle, 1949a, 1949b; Firth, 1948).

Work has had different meanings for man through the ages. To the ancient Greeks, work was a curse. Leisure was what should be aspired to in order for the individual to engage in contemplation and the performance of the arts (J. Cohen, 1953; de Grazia, 1962; Green, 1968; Tilgher, 1930). Furthermore, work took on religious meaning during the Protestant Reformation. In the doctrine of Luther and Calvin, work was the means to salvation--the means to entering the Kingdom of Heaven (J. Cohen, 1953; Green, 1968; Tilgher, 1930).

With the Industrial Revolution came modern factories. Workers left their homes to work for anyone who would hire them. Individual craftsmanship waned, to be replaced by modern factory work where the pace of work was often set by the machines used by the worker. In this situation, we could expect the worker to cease to view work as a central feature of his life. In fact, it has been found that less than 25 percent of a sample of American industrial workers viewed work as a "central life interest" (Dubin, 1956).

Whether an individual views work as a central feature of his life does not mean that work ceases to be an important part of his life. It certainly

takes up major portion of his waking time. Furthermore, a person's job can be an indicator of his social status in his community. It is only necessary to review studies of unemployment and retirement to see how the absence of work removes an important source of routine in one's day and reduces one's status in the family and community. (Bakke, 1933, 1940a, 1940b; Barfield and Morgan, 1969; Claque et al., 1934; E. Friedmann and Havighurst, 1954; Ginzberg et al., 1943; Jahoda et al., 1971; Komarovsky, 1940; Tuckman and Lorge, 1953).

The contemporary phenomenon of a reduction in the amount of time a person spends at work provides us with sufficient reason for concern about the relationship between work and nonwork. The number of hours a week that a person works has steadily declined since the nineteenth century (Zeisel, 1958). Even greater reductions in the number of hours, and number of days worked, is forecast for the future (Pearson, 1973; Poor, 1970). The consequence of these reductions, of course, is increased time for activities away from work. If work affects these activities, then it becomes imperative to understand the way that it does affect them.

The task of this paper is to review the published literature in order to (1) identify the theoretical models that have been set forth to describe the relationship between work and nonwork and, (2) evaluate the empirical evidence for the existence of these relationships.

THEORY AND PHILOSOPHY

We shall first review the theoretical explanations, and philosophical concerns, for the relationship between work and nonwork. Much of what has been written cannot be described as theory; rather, they are best considered to be philosophical or normative statements about work and nonwork. All

of these writings are considered here as a group since they have provided much of the framework and impetus for the empirical research that has been done.

We first look at some general sociological and psychological theory to determine whether there is any theoretical basis for believing that individuals are able to form differential relationships between their work experiences and their nonwork experiences. We then consider the writings of those theorists and philosophers who have been most specifically concerned with the form of the work-nonwork relationship.

SOME GENERAL SOCIOLOGICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORY

The earliest writers of sociological theory were deeply impressed by the seeming interdependence of the parts of social systems. Both Comte (n.d.) and Spencer (1910) tended to study social systems with biological analogies. To each of them, social systems inevitably consisted of separate parts in close interdependence. For Comte, this observation was the "master thought" of his sociology:

> In a scientific view, this master-thought of universal social interconnection becomes the consequence and complement of a fundamental idea established, in our view of biology, as eminently proper to the study of living bodies. Not that this idea of interconnection is peculiar to that study: it is necessarily common to all phenomena. . .It is, in fact, true that wherever there is any system whatever, a certain interconnection must exist[Comte, n.d.: 461].

Durkheim (1933) was equally impressed with the elaboration in modern societies of a number of interdependent functions. He considered this to be the division of labor of a society. From this division of labor emerged an organic solidarity of the society's members. People were tied together,

and to the larger social order, by the many interdependent functions of the society.

Durkheim contrasted organic solidarity to mechanical solidarity. The latter was based on consensus--the acceptance of a set of beliefs and sentiments by each member of a group. He argued that mechanical solidarity did not result in individuality since the group conscience became the individual conscience. However, organic solidarity, since it is based on the division of labor of the society, allowed greater individuation of the personality.

A second line of thought among the early writers was the notion of multiple social selves. William James (1891) was, perhaps, the first to view the self as having multiple parts. He observed that man had ". . .as many different social selves as there are distinct groups of persons about whose opinion he cares [p. 294; italics removed]."

Mead (1934) viewed the personality of an individual as consisting of both an "I" and "Me." The "me" is an organized set of social attitudes learned by the individual from interaction in a social group. Many groups may exist for any one individual; hence the "me" may consist of multiple organized sets of attitudes.

The "I" is something of a central core of the individual which he takes with him from one social setting to another. The "I" calls forth the "me" that is demanded by the social setting in which the individual finds himself. When he moves on to another setting, a possibly different "me" is evoked by the "I".

Georg Simmel (1955) also observed the phenomena of multiple group memberships of individuals in modern societies. A person is a member of his

family, occupational group, and various voluntary associations. Such multiple memberships contribute to the development and expression of the personality.

Simmel (1964) also felt that multiple group memberships were characteristic of modern urban living. There is a greater complexity to urban living than rural living. An individual in the metropolis meets more people and in different institutional settings than he does in a rural environment.

Wirth (1938) carried Simmel's analysis even further. The size and density of urban populations brings large numbers of individuals into contact with each other. As a consequence of population size, more social groups are possible with which an individual may affiliate. Furthermore, the social contacts of an urban individual are segmental and transitory. The transition from one social world to another may be abrupt.

Maciver (1970) has also noted the multiple association memberships of individuals. Every man belongs to his family, club, church, and economic organization. The task for the individual is to achieve harmony among the demands made on him by each of these associations.

The presence of many social groups to which an individual can belong may contribute to the differentiation and complexity of the individual personality. As Sorokin (1947) has observed:

> All individuals, especially those who live in a highly differentiated and stratified society and are members of several social groups, have not one but several egos, different from, and sometimes contradictory to, one another [p. 348].

Contemporary writers have come to similar conclusions. P. Cohen (1966) points out that in complex societies, different institutional spheres are relatively autonomous. Each sphere is free to independently shape attitudes.

Thus, each individual, depending on the different institutional spheres in which he acts, will develop a different complex of attitudes with the possibility of these attitudes differentially carrying over from one sphere to another.

Dubin (1973) has argued that in order to best understand the relationships among institutions of the twenty-first century, it will be necessary for sociologists to abandon the "focal institution" analytical approach in favor of the "multi-equal" institution approach. Several institutional spheres may be equally salient to the individual. Each institution may make different behavioral demands on the individual that will not necessarily be consistent with each other. The individual moves from one institutional setting to another, independently satisfying the behavioral demands of each setting.

A third line of observation may be subsumed under the rubric of "partial inclusion" (Allport, 1933). This concept is extremely useful in attempting to understand how an individual may comfortably move from one role to another and one institutional setting to another.

An individual may be a member of several social groups, with each of these groups commanding only a part of the total individual. Only a portion of an individual's personality is expressed in any one social group or institutional setting. Each social group or institutional setting may act as though it were largely independent of any other. The individual may then move among these settings, involving himself only partially and segmentally in each (Cooley, 1962; Dubin, 1959; Faunce and Dubin, in press; Gouldner, 1959; Katz and Kahn, 1966; Wilensky and Lebeaux, 1958).

There seem to be three main streams of thought that compel us to consider the possibility that different individuals may form different relationships

between the work sphere of their life space and the nonwork sphere. The first is the observed interdependence of the parts of social systems which has deep roots in early sociological theory (Comte, n.d; Spencer, 1910). If the parts are interdependent, then, for any one individual, the work sphere must in some way articulate with the nonwork sphere.

Second, the very nature of modern urban and industrialized societies contributes to the formation of multiple social groups (e.g., Simmel, 1955; Maciver, 1970; Wirth, 1938). Multiple social selves may develop from membership in these groups which may be as different from each other as the different groups in which an individual holds membership (e.g., Mead, 1934; Sorokin, 1947; James, 1891). This suggests the possibility of both similarity and differences between the social self of the individual at work and the social self of the individual away from work.

Finally, the concept of "partial inclusion" introduced by Allport (1933) allows us to understand that an individual may only be partially involved in any one social setting. Admitting to this possibility permits us to speculate that only a portion of the individual may be involved in the work sphere while another portion may be involved in the nonwork sphere. The individual may move freely between these settings with only partial and segmental involvements of himself in each.

Based on some general sociological and psychological theory, it seems clear that different individuals would be able to form different relationships between the work and nonwork spheres. We now turn to the theoretical work that has attempted to describe the specific forms this relationship may take.

SPECIFIC THEORY AND PHILOSOPHY OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN WORK AND NONWORK

Sociologists have long considered a person's occupation to be a central

variable in virtually any analysis of social phenomena (Sorokin, 1928). A person's occupation is known to frequently define his status in the larger social order. The choice of friends, style of dress, language, leisure activities, and the voluntary associations in which one participates, have all been viewed as being in some way influenced by one's occupation (Anderson, 1961; Lynd and Lynd, 1929; Sorokin, 1927). Furthermore, the quality of a person's work experience has come to be viewed as greatly affecting an individual's attachments to society (Wilensky, 1961).

Brightbill (1961), though expressing a philosophy of recreation, seems to have summarized the felt importance of work in the scheme of things for many other writers:

> To speak highly of leisure is not to disparage or ignore the importance of work. Of all the great claims which can be made for its attractiveness, leisure as a substitute for work is not among them. Work is a symbol of growth which in itself offers countless challenges and brings a renewal of motives. . .Work carries with it the feelings of purposefulness and usefulness which are so indispensable to our self-respect. [p. 22-23].

Possibly because work has come to be considered such a central element in a person's life, considerable attention has been paid to the quality of the working experience and its impact on the individual. Adam Smith was certainly among the first to reflect upon the effects of factory work on the individual:

> The man whose whole life is spent in performing a few simple operations. . .has no occasion to exert his understanding, or to exercise his invention in finding out expedients for removing difficulties which never occur. He naturally loses, therefore, the habit of such exertion, and generally becomes as stupid and ignorant as it is possible for a human creature to become [Smith, 1937: 734].

Karl Marx observed that factory labor was alienated and could not fulfill itself at work. Thus, the worker must seek fulfillment in his leisure (Bottomore, 1964). Frederick Taylor's suggestion that the right kind of man to handle pig iron must ". . .be so stupid and so phlegmatic that he more nearly resembles in his mental make-up the ox than any other type [Taylor, 1911: 59]" clearly implies the need to head off the impact of the job on the worker by selecting a suitable worker for the job.

Marx's line of thinking has been continued by a number of writers. In the early twenties, Pangburn (1922) addressed himself to the problem of increased specialization and mechanization of industrial work removing the creative element from most work. He suggested that leisure is where the worker should turn for the satisfactions he cannot obtain at work.

The modern industrial worker has separated his work from his leisure. If his work lacks meaning, the worker will seek meaning in his leisure activities (Greenberg, 1953). The problem for society is seen as changing the values we have traditionally placed on work and leisure. Since it may not be possible to change many modern industrial jobs to make them more meaningful, we may have to change the value we place on what an individual does with his leisure time (Wrenn, 1964).

Other writers have expressed a similar view. Charlesworth (1964) has pointed out that the Industrial Revolution, and concomitant mechanization and automation of work, has produced boring and monotonous work for many. However, we must recognize that we are not going to return to an earlier age of artisans. Work may not be its own reward under this system; we must look to leisure for the development of the individual.

Green (1968) has developed a philosophy of work and leisure in which he distinguishes between "work" and "job." Work is a calling--a life long

endeavor in which an individual seeks and expresses his self-identity. A job is a means to make a living. In Green's view, modern industrial societies have reached the point of providing mainly jobs for people, not work. In such societies jobs are, and should be, of minimal importance to individuals. Rather, the leisure that is now more abundantly available than ever before should be the sphere in which the individual can achieve self-identity and self-expression. There are greater opportunities available for this in leisure than in the modern job structure.

Anderson (1960, 1964) has taken a similar position. The modern worker sharply separates his work from his leisure. Anderson views the worker as not preferring to express his total personality at work. He works mainly for money. Since he has greater choices and more freedom in his leisure activities than he does at work, there are greater opportunities for the worker to express his personality away from work.

George Friedmann (1960, 1961) has observed that leisure is the sphere of life in which we may find the solution to the effects of specialization on the individual. Though he does not rule out the importance of the design of work, he believes that leisure offers considerable opportunity to militate the affects of specialization.

Riesman (1969) considered the "inner-directed" individual to be one who viewed work as the center of his life. Leisure was a mere ". . .side show. . . work being of course the main show [p. 116]." The "other-directed" man, however, saw a sharp split between work and leisure. For the other-directed man, leisure provided the opportunity to make up for whatever deprivations he suffered in his work. Since workers are increasingly becoming like the other-directed man, leisure must provide the satisfactions and meanings that may be lacking in work (Riesman and Bloomberg, 1957).

The hope that Riesman had for the increasing ability of leisure to

compensate for the deprivations of work considerably waned for him in his later writings. The original hope expressed in The Lonely Crowd has given way to the view that possibly the only way in which leisure can be made more meaningful is to make work more meaningful and demanding. We seem to lack the inventiveness that may be necessary to make leisure more creative and meaningful (Riesman, 1957, 1958).

Dubin (1956) has observed that the majority of industrial workers may not hold work as a central life interest. He found that less than twenty-five percent of his sample of industrial workers reported work to be the central feature of their lives. Workers who do not view work as a central life interest may be largely indifferent to self-actualizing at work. For this type of worker (similar to Riesman's other-directed man), the institutions outside of work may provide the opportunities for his self-actualization (Dubin, 1959).

Other writers have taken a different view of the effect of alienation from work on one's nonwork life. Alienated workers are also alienated from the rest of life. If they perform meaningless work, they will choose similarly meaningless leisure activities. Work is of such central importance to an individual that it must be meaningful and nonalienating for it to have a positive impact on one's nonwork life (D. Bell, 1956; Blauner, 1960, 1964; Fromm, 1955, 1959; Seligman, 1965). "Work is the most important activity in which man engages, for it provides the standard for judging his worth [Seligman, 1965: 338; emphasis in original]." Those who hold this viewpoint oppose any attempts to automate work in order to decrease the burden it places on the worker (Fromm, 1955, 1959), or oppose any attempts to reduce the hours of work so that an alienated worker has more leisure time in which to find self-fulfillment (Blauner, 1964).

Kornhauser (1965) has taken the position that work will continue to hold an important place in meeting people's social and psychological needs. Increasing freedom from demands of work will permit nonwork to provide additional satisfactions. Kornhauser specifically rejects the idea that nonwork gratifications can substitute for lack of gratifications at work.

Argyris (1957, 1964) has argued strongly that the quality of the work experience is a central variable in determining the behavior and attitudes of people away from work. Formal organizations do not permit individuals to fully satisfy important psychological needs. Argyris views this lack of need satisfaction at work as correlated with passive, meaningless, and uninvolving leisure activities. In his latest restatement of his theory, Argyris (1973) specifically rejected the possibility of workers seeking to satisfy these important psychological needs in their leisure activities if they cannot satisfy them at work.

As can be seen from the above discussion, a number of writers have expressed generalized concern about the effect of work experiences on experiences off the job. The general thrust of their concern may be summarized as a feeling that the poor quality of one's working experiences will "spillover" and adversely affect nonwork experiences, or will be "compensated" for by nonwork experiences that provide what is lacking at work. A number of writers, however, have been more specific about what this effect or relationship may be, or should be.

Allport (1933) has presented two theories of leisure that describe distinctly different relationships between work and nonwork. His "biological theory" of leisure views work and leisure as a whole. Work is not separated from leisure. A man works and earns his leisure through his work. Leisure provides a respite from work--an opportunity to restore oneself and to reflect upon the fruit of one's labors.

His "technological theory" of leisure views work as sharply separated from leisure. We work and rest in two distinctly separate and unrelated spheres. Work is necessary though uninspiring. The leisure sphere is where we shall become what we are to become.

Wilensky (1960, 1961) is generally credited with identifying the "compensatory" and "spillover" hypotheses of the relationship betweek work and nonwork. The compensatory hypothesis states that workers who experience deprivations at work will compensate for them in their choice of nonwork activities. Thus, an individual who holds a job that will not permit him to be creative, will compensate for this lack of creativity by choosing creative nonwork activities.

The spillover hypothesis states that the nature of one's work experiences will carryover to the nonwork sphere and affect attitudes and behavior in that sphere. Consequently, a worker who experiences little social interaction at work will be equally unsociable away from work. The functioning of the spillover hypothesis can be understood in terms of a generalization of beliefs, attitudes, and values learned in one setting to another (Breer and Locke, 1965; Hagedorn and Labovitz, 1968), or the conditioning of a worker to a behavior pattern at work that carries over to the nonwork sphere (Meissner, 1971).

As stated above, work experiences are viewed as affecting nonwork experiences in a generally negative way. Wippler (1970) has departed from this orientation by proposing a four-fold classification of work-nonwork relationships that allows for both positive and negative impacts. Wippler views work as either being in contrast with, or congruent with, nonwork. Work may also allow for, or deny, personal development. He derives from these two dimensions, four possible work-nonwork relationships. If leisure contrasts with

work, and work denies personal development, the relationship is considered to be "regenerative;" if work allows personal development, the relationship is "complementary." Under the condition of leisure being congruent with work, if work denies personal development, the relationship is considered "suspensive;" if work allows personal development, the relationship is "continuative."

Parker (1971) has taken a theoretical position that bears considerable similarity to the compensatory and spillover hypotheses. He posits three distinct work-nonwork relationships: extension, opposition, and neutrality. Extension exists when patterns of work behavior are similar to patterns of nonwork behavior. Opposition refers to the absence or contrast of behavior in one sphere as compared to the other. Neutrality describes the situation of little or no relationship between activities in the two spheres. This last possibility has also been described by Meissner (1971).

Kando and Summers (1971) have developed the only reasonably comprehensive model of the work-nonwork relationship that appears in the literature. They first distinguish between the meaning of work and nonwork activities and the form of these activities. The same work and nonwork experiences may have different meanings for different individuals. Furthermore, they contend that the form of nonwork may be strongly influenced by variables other than work such as social class, ethnicity, sex, etc.

The compensatory relationship between work and nonwork operates through the meanings of work and nonwork activities to the individual. The spillover relationship operates through the forms of work and nonwork activities. Certain psychological, social, and behavioral skills are learned at work which shape the choice of nonwork activities.

The distinction that Kando and Summers draw between the form of activities and the meaning of the activities to an individual is an important one. The

same activity, be it at work or away from work, may mean different things to different individuals. However, it is not at all clear from their discussion why the meaning of activities only operates for the compensatory relationship and the form of activities only operates for the spillover relationship.

Odaka (1970) has identified five possible types of relationships between work and nonwork. A "work-oriented-unilateral" individual is one for whom work is the most important aspect of his life. This type of individual gives very little thought to leisure. The "leisure-oriented-unilateral" individual takes the opposite viewpoint. Work is merely instrumental for the enjoyment of leisure. Other individuals may view work as sharply "split" from leisure. This type of individual does not permit the work sphere to articulate with the nonwork sphere. The "integrated" type, however, allows the two spheres to articulate, with activities and rewards in one sphere contributing to the other. Finally, the "identity" type views his work as a form of leisure and sees no distinction between the two spheres.

There is some overlap in his typology with the work-oriented-unilateral type appearing to be similar to his identity type. His integrated type resembles what is ordinarily considered to be the spillover relationship between work and nonwork. His leisure-oriented-unilateral type is unique, with no counterpart in the literature.

Faunce and Dubin (in press) have presented a model that employs two dimensions to explain the way in which an individual relates his work and nonwork environments. The first dimension, which they term the "assignment" dimension, refers to the degree of fit between the requirements of an individual's job and the nature of his personality. The second dimension, termed the "adjustment" dimension, refers to the adjustment the individual achieves between his work and nonwork environments.

The model essentially describes two stages. The first stage is represented by the assignment diminsion. An individual takes a job and finds that there is some degree of fit between his personality requirements and the requirements of the job. Depending on the goodnesss of this fit, and depending on the nature of the individual's personality, he will achieve an adjustment between his work and nonwork worlds. The model explicitly allows for this adjustment to take the form of spillover between the two spheres, or compensation between the spheres. Furthermore, the possibility of different types of adjustment is considered in the model, both in terms of different types of behavior adjustments in the two spheres and different forms of adjustment over the life history of the individual.

Theorizing about the possible relationships between work and nonwork has not been confined to industrial sociologists or industrial psychologists. Sociologists interested in the family have paid considerable attention to the articulation of the work and family spheres. Among the major theoretical points of interest are the increasing differentiation of family and work in contemporary industrial society (R. Blood, 1972; Goode, 1964) and the consequent isomorphic (spillover) and heteromorphic (compensatory) relations that may form between work and family life (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1965).

Theorists of play and recreation have also made their contribution. The compensatory character of play and recreation has long been recognized (Groos, 1901; E. Robinson, 1920; Sapora and Mitchell, 1961; Slavson, 1946). Man seeks self-expression in some activity (for adults possibly work) but does not succeed. He may then turn to some play activity in which he can achieve self-expression (Sapora and Mitchell, 1961).

Compensatory play activities also may be chosen for reasons other than self-expression. An individual may choose recreational activities that comple-

ment what he does at work. For example, the office worker may choose recreation that tends to be physical, but a worker in a more physically demanding occupation may choose recreational activities that do not require physical exertion (Slavson, 1946).

Other theories of play and recreation also directly link work with choice of specific recreational activities (Sapora and Mitchell, 1961; Witt and Bishop, 1970). Surplus energy theory states that the function of play is to work off excess energy. The body's need for activity that cannot be totally satisfied at work is satisfied at play. The relaxation theory of play (also known as recreation and restoration theory) states that we choose recreational activities that allow us to relax from the mental and physical stress of our occupations (Groos, 1901). The catharsis theory states that the choice of certain leisure activities is based on a need to release emotions generated in another situation. The surplus energy theory and the relaxation theory of play have a compensatory character to them, while the catharsis theory deals with the spillover of feelings from one situation to another.

These theories may operate at different times for any one individual as he chooses his leisure activities. As Witt and Bishop (1970) point out, the choice of a leisure activity possibly depends on the "antecendent situation" experienced by the individual. Thus, it may be possible to explain some nonwork behavior by the nature of the experience the individual has had in the antecedent situation called work.

SUMMARY

The theoretical and philosophical literature on the relationship between work and nonwork leaves us with two main implications or conclusions. The

first is the general agreement among the writers that the work-nonwork relationship is mainly described by two basic models: spillover and compensatory. The second implication is that bad work experiences either spillover to the nonwork sphere and produce poor quality experiences in that sphere, or will in some way be compensated for by the choice of nonwork experiences that make up for deficiencies at work.

Some writers, however, provided us with several ideas that allow us to go beyond this simple conclusion. Wippler (1970) expanded the two basic models such that four types of work-nonwork relations were possible. Within the broad categories of compensatory and spillover, Wippler allowed for positive work experiences spilling over to nonwork or being compensated for away from work. The first of these two subtypes is easy to understand. The second--compensating for positive work experiences away from work--is less clear. However, it seems entirely possible that an individual may sufficiently fulfill certain personal characteristics at work such that they do not require additional fulfillment away from work.

Another thought, suggested by Parker (1971), is the possibility of their being no relationship between either of the two spheres. His "neutrality" type suggests just such a possibility.

Finally, virtually all of the writers, with the exception of Kando and Summers (1971), described how activities at work affect activities away from work. The contrast or congruence in these activities is taken as evidence of the operation of the compensatory or spillover models. As Kando and Summers pointed out, however, the meanings of activities may differ considerably among individuals. Thus, it would seem to be necessary to consider the meaning of the activities in the two spheres to the individual when determining the nature of the work-nonwork relationship for that individual.

EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

We now consider what we know empirically about the relationship between work and nonwork. The studies have been classified into two broad groups. The first group deals with studies that broadly examined the relationship between work and activities in various sectors of the nonwork sphere. The second group contains studies that attempted to relate specific characteristics of a person's job to his nonwork activities.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN WORK AND ACTIVITIES IN VARIOUS SECTORS OF THE NONWORK SPHERE

A number of empirical studies have attempted to relate the work sphere to various sectors of the nonwork sphere. These studies are characterized by the fact that they have used occupation, or occupational prestige, as the variable from the work sphere to relate to activities in the nonwork sphere. The studies are grouped below according to the sector of the nonwork sphere to which they were addressed.

Leisure Activities

The now famous study of leisure patterns in Westchester County, New York conducted by Lundberg, Komarovsky, and McInery (1934) provided the first systematic data of leisure activities. Time diary data were obtained of the leisure activities of 2,460 people. These data were analyzed for several major leisure activities for male and female white-collar and unskilled labor workers and male professionals and executives.

In terms of percentage of total leisure time spend in various leisure activities, female white-collar workers and unskilled laborers of both sexes spend the greatest proportion of their total leisure time in visiting with friends, neighbors, and relatives compared to the other groups. Professionals and executives devoted the least amount of their leisure time to public enter-

tainment. Time spend in reading was greater among male unskilled laborers, while female unskilled laborers devoted the greatest proportion of total leisure time to listening to the radio. Little difference was found among the occupational groups with respect to active participation in sports although the males were higher than the females.

Several studies containing data on sports participation of professional and managerial workers vis-à-vis other groups of workers were not consistent in their results. One group of studies indicated that professional, managerial, and white-collar workers were more active in outdoor recreational activities than members of other occupations. An American Institute of Public Opinion poll taken in 1940 of 3,242 individuals showed that professionals reported greater interest in golf and tennis than any other occupational group (Sutton-Smith et al., 1963). White-collar workers have been found to participate more in golf than blue-collar workers (Cunningham, et al., 1970). Managerial workers in two British firms showed greater interest in physical recreation activities than lower ranking workers (Willmott, 1971). Romsa's cluster analysis of data obtained from 882 individuals in Quebec also showed that individuals of high socioeconomic status chose the more active outdoor recreation activities (Romsa, 1973).

However, the Roper-Fortune poll of 3,008 people conducted in 1948 showed the professional group ranking near the bottom in participation in outdoor sports (Sutton-Smith et al., 1963). Furthermore, Damazedier and Latouche (1962) reported no differences in sports participation among French salaried employees, middle managers, craftsmen, and small businessmen.

There also seem to be differences among the professions with respect to their choice of leisure activities. Jordon (1956) obtained leisure data from 203 sociologists and 53 attorneys. Attorneys watched and participated

in more sports activities than sociologists. Sociologists spent somewhat more time in reading books, magazines, and newspapers than attorneys. Both groups exhibited considerable similarity in playing cards and chess, camping, and attending plays and musical concerts.

Fisk's analysis (Fisk, 1964) of data from two studies conducted by the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan showed that professional and managerial workers engaged in more leisure activities than clerical, craft, and farm workers. Furthermore, professionals chose intellectual, cultural, and group activities more than other occupational groups. Blue-collar workers tended toward solitary, vocational, and TV viewing activities.

Kornhauser (1965) was impressed by the absence of "meaningful" leisure activities among Detroit industrial workers. The most frequently mentioned leisure activities were visiting with friends and neighbors, watching television, working around the house, spectator sports, and reading. Little occupational difference in leisure activities was found in his sample. However, white-collar workers tended to choose more intellectual activities than blue-collar workers.

Other investigators have used occupational prestige level rather than specific occupations in an analysis of leisure activities. Clarke (1956) obtained questionnaire data from 574 individuals in Columbus, Ohio. People in high prestige occupations tended to participate more in so called "high-brow" leisure activities such as attending theatrical plays, concerts, and special lectures, and visiting a museum or art gallery than those in lower prestige occupations. Spectator activities, such as going to the zoo or watching baseball games, were more favored by the lower prestige groups than the upper.

Burdge (1969) attempted to replicate Clarke's study in a sample of 1,562 individuals from Allegheny County, Pennsylvannia. Persons in the highest prestige occupations participated in more leisure activities than persons in the lower prestige occupations. In contrast to Clarke's study, persons in the highest prestige occupations preferred spectator activities such as sports events, attending the zoo, and horse races more than those in the lowest prestige occupations. The latter preferred stock car races, boxing, and wrestling.

White's study of social class differences in leisure patterns found that the upper middle class selected libraries and lecture-study groups more frequently than other social classes (White, 1955). The lower classes tended to use parks, playgrounds, museums, and commercial entertainment more frequently than the upper social classes.

This tendency for people in the higher prestige occupations and upper social classes to choose leisure activities that may be considered to have a prestige character to them has been reproduced in multivariate analyses of leisure behavior. Bishop (1970) performed separate factor analyses of leisure data from four community surveys. Three factors consistently appeared in each of the samples. One factor was identified as a status factor based on high loadings of activities such as attending plays, concerts, art museums, playing tennis, reading books, etc. Data from one of the community studies permitted socio-economic status to be correlated with this factor. A product moment correlation of .27 was obtained.

Bishop and Ikeda (1970) performed a multiple discriminant analysis of leisure interests data for 310 individuals in 18 occupational groups. The first discriminant function, accounting for 27.9 percent of the variance, was interpretable as a prestige dimension. Correlation of prestige ratings

of the 18 occupations provided by the North-Hatt Occupational Prestige Scale produced a correlation coefficient of .74. People in high status occupations tended to choose "high brow" leisure activities.

Reliable data on occupational differences in outdoor recreational activities have been obtained in the extensive national surveys conducted by the United States Government. The National Recreation Survey (Fisk, 1964; Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission, 1962a) was conducted in 1960-61. A representative sample of over 4,000 households was interviewed in each of four quarters. Professional and managerial workers participated more frequently than other occupational groups in outdoor games and sports, swimming, and attending outdoor sports events. Craftsmen and foremen were more active in boating and fishing than other occupational groups. A more recent survey of 46,450 persons in the Current Population Survey showed much the same result (U.S. Department of the Interior, 1972).

A third national survey of 2,750 American adults (Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission, 1962b) showed that a greater percentage of those in higher level occupations took vacation trips than those in lower level occupations. Furthermore, a positive relationship was found between occupational level and participation in outdoor activities while on a trip, and a negative relationship between occupational level and participation in outdoor activities only at home.

Social Participation

Many investigators have been concerned with the nature of the job an individual holds and the quality and extent of his social participation (Hagedorn and Labovitz, 1968; Wilensky, 1961). The concern here is that social experiences on the job can affect social experiences off the job (Meissner, 1971).

A first step in understanding this phenomenon is to examine several studies that have included occupation in an analysis of social participation. In a later section, we shall examine the more complex issue of specific social experiences at work being related to social participation away from work.

Lynd and Lynd (1929) in their study of "Middletown" found that a much greater percentage of individuals who belonged to the "business" class held memberships in voluntary associations than members of the "working" class. Greater proportions of working class people belonged to lodges, although greater proportions of business class people belonged to church social clubs.

Warner and Lunt (1941) observed the same phenomenon in "Yankee City." Greater associational activity was observed for members of the upper class than for members of the lower classes. Since occupation was highly correlated with class position in that study, we may take occupation as one of the variables related to participation in voluntary associations.

Komarovsky (1946) obtained questionnaire data on association memberships from 2,223 people in New York City in several different occupations. Her data showed a positive relationship between occupation (from unskilled labor through professional) and the percentage of the members of each occupation who belonged to one or more associations. This relationship was true for both males and females. Additionally, within the professional group, a greater proportion of those with high income belonged to one or more associations than those with low income.

Reissman's study of 100 adult males in Evanston, Illinois (Reissman, 1954) was the first of the early studies to use statistical tests in the data analysis. Greater proportions of members of high occupational prestige groups belonged to two or more organizations and held office in an organization than members of low occupational prestige groups. These differences were significant

at the .01 level. However, there was no statistically significant relationship between occupational prestige and frequently attending organizational meetings.

Axelrod's analysis of data obtained from 749 people in the Detroit Area Study showed a curvilinear relationship between occupation and membership in voluntary associations (Axelrod, 1956). Service workers and laborers (lowest occupations) had approximately the same percentage of people participating in voluntary associations as clerical, sales, and professionals (the highest occupations). Operatives and craftsmen (the middle occupations) were lower than any of the others. The percentage of people who reported they were very active in their organizations followed roughly the same pattern although clerical occupations showed the highest percentage.

Bell and Force (1956) interviewed a representative sample of males over the age of 21 in four different neighborhoods in the San Francisco Bay area. They found that men living in high economic status neighborhoods belonged to more associations and attended meetings more frequently than men living in low economic status neighborhoods. However, occupation seemed to be related to attending meetings regardless of type of neighborhood. Greater proportions of members of high level occupations frequently attended formal meetings than those in low level occupations.

Scott obtained data from 232 individuals in a 5 percent random sample of Bennington, Vermont (Scott, 1957). His data showed that the average number of memberships of those in higher level occupations was greater than the average for those in lower level occupations. This result obtained for males as well as females although the difference was greater for males.

Cohen and Hodges (1963) obtained data from 2,600 male heads of families in the San Francisco, San Mateo, and Santa Clara counties of California. Members of the "lower blue-collar" class participated least in voluntary

associations. They belonged to fewer organizations and were least likely to attend any organizational meetings at all.

Bonjean (1966) interviewed 332 salaried managers, hourly workers, and independent businessmen. He found no statistically significant differences in membership in organized groups and general social participation among these occupational groups.

Secondary analyses of national probability sample data obtained by the National Opinion Research Center in 1955 from 2,379 men and women confirm the general trend shown in the studies described above (Hamilton, 1964; Hausknecht, 1962; Wright and Hyman, 1958). Individuals in higher level occupations belonged to more voluntary associations than individuals in lower level occupations.

This general result does not seem to be confined to the United States. Willmott's study of workers in two British factories showed that workers in high level jobs belonged to more clubs and associations than those in low level jobs (Willmott, 1971). Goldthorpe et al. (1969) reported substantially greater participation in voluntary associations for British white-collar workers than manual workers. Parker (1971) found that one-half of his sample of British bank employees were active in at least one organization compared to two-thirds of his sample of youth employment and child care employees. Dumazedier and Latouche (1962) obtained the same result for French workers. In addition, their study showed that high level workers became more involved in the leadership of voluntary associations than low level workers.

Friendship Patterns

Most workers spend one-third of their work day at their place of work.

Depending on whether the design of the work place contributes to or impedes social interaction at work (Dubin, 1958; Roy, 1960; Walker and Guest, 1952; Walker et al., 1956), friendships developing at work are possible. The question of concern to us, however, is whether any such friendships that may develop at work carry over to the nonwork sphere.

Walker (1950) conducted a study among workers of a steel plant in Ellwood City, Pennsylvannia. He found that close kinship and friendship ties were common among these workers. Eighty-seven percent of a small group of workers (N = 56) reported they saw their co-workers outside of work sometime during the "past week."

Lipset, Trow, and Coleman (1956) found an extensive occupational community among printers. The factors that appeared to contribute to informal social interaction among printers were the perceived prestige of printing vis-a-vis other manual occupations, a common interest in the craft basis of their occupation, the union's substitute system that put pressure on newcomers to the trade to interact with other printers in the shop, and the fact of night work which reduced the possibility of interactions with members of other occupations. Also, informal social relations at work contributed to establishing close friendships among co-workers that continued outside of work. Factors that contributed to the establishment of these friendships were the number of men in the shop (size of shop), physical proximity while working, required interactions while working, and freedom to socialize while on the job. Thus, it can be seen that characteristics of their occupation contributed to extensive social interactions away from work.

Textile workers in the South also exhibited a strong occupational community (Blauner, 1964). The continuity of social ties inside of work and outside of work seemed to be due to several factors. The children of mill workers tended

to go to work in the mills. Mill workers were also socially isolated from the rest of the community. Discrimination in the Southern towns against mill workers was almost as intense at it was toward Blacks. Shut off from social interaction outside of the mill by other elements of the community, Southern textile workers had little alternative to forming a tight knit community of their own.

Gerstl (1961a) studied admen, dentists, and professors to determine the continuity of informal friendship patterns and colleague relationships within these occupational groups. Twenty-five individuals in each group were interviewed. Eight-four percent of the professors, forty-eight percent of the admen, and sixteen percent of the dentists reported that at least two of their three best friends were occupational colleagues. The differences among these proportions were significant at least at the .002 level. Gerstl explains these results for admen and dentists in terms of opportunity for social interaction in connection with working. The admen were required to work with other admen and frequently lunched with them. Dentists, however, worked alone and infrequently met with their colleagues. The situation for the professors was somewhat different. They were from a small town college, had intense occupational commitment, and were characterized by a general merging of their work and nonwork lives. This blurring of the boundary between work and nonwork seemed to contribute to the continuation of social interaction with occupational colleagues away from work.

Blue-collar and clerical workers tend to keep their work and nonwork lives separated. Komarovsky (1962) studied 58 blue-collar marriages and found that the husbands felt that their work life should not be mixed with their home life. These blue-collar workers felt that it was inappropriate to bring their work colleagues home.

The data from Cohen and Hodges' study of blue-collar workers in Northern California revealed the same pattern (A. Cohen and Hodges, 1963). Less than ten percent of the blue-collar workers had friends from work in their homes compared to slightly less than twenty-five percent of middle class workers.

Zweig (1961) interviewed 601 male and 71 female industrial workers from five British factories. The steel, auto, tire, and electronics industries were all represented in his sample. Contacts with work colleagues outside of work were highly limited--sixty to seventy percent of the men did not meet each other outside of work. There were, however, some exceptions to this general result. Skilled men met more often outside of work than semi-skilled or laborers. Young men met outside work more often than older. Working women--about fifty percent in the electronics plant--had regular contacts with each other outside of work.

A study by Goldthorpe and his colleagues was not consistent with these results (Goldthorpe et al., 1969). They found no differences in out-of-work social contacts with work colleagues for a sample of British manual and white-collar workers.

Crozier (1964) found that women in a French clerical agency did not tend to continue their friendships at work outside of work. Forty percent reported no friends at work at all. Another forty percent reported they may have friends at work but preferred to see a different group of friends outside of work. Slightly more friendships outside of work were found in the manufacturing organization he also studied.

Parker (1964) considered an individual's attitude towards his work as important in determining whether he will build friendships at work and continue them outside of work. He found a significant relationship ($p < .01$) between having work as "central life interest" and having a lot of close friends in the same or related work.

This result is consistent with other research on the central life interests of workers. Dubin (1956) found that only nine percent of his sample of industrial workers preferred having informal social relations at work. Orzack (1959) found that forty-five percent of the nurses in his sample chose the work place for informal social relations. These occupational differences in preferences for informal social relations at work may help explain some of the variability in friendship patterns at work and away from work for people in different occupations. If there is little preference for informal social relations at work, then there may be little social interaction in the work place and the consequent failure of close friendships forming at work.

Family

Some empirical work has been done that attempts to examine the specific way in which work impinges on the family system. From clinical observations it appears that the work sphere can have considerable impact on emotionally disturbed children. Bettelheim and Sylvester (1950) have observed that a child's perception of the father's occupation contributed to further deterioration of the personalities of such children.

A consistent empirical finding is the separation of conjugal roles in blue-collar families in contrast to white-collar families (R. Blood and Wolfe 1960; Bott, 1957; Dennis et al., 1956; Komarovsky, 1962; Rainwater et al., 1959). Blue-collar workers tend to keep their work lives separated from their nonwork lives. They tend not to talk about their work at home nor do their wives participate in any social circles established among their work colleagues Husbands have their own leisure activities which are distinctly separated from those of their wives. The result of this role separation is little feeling of closeness or companionship among blue-collar workers and their wives.

The type of work of the family breadwinner has been found to be related to the structure of interaction patterns within the family. Oeser and Hammond (1954) obtained data from eighty-three Australian urban male workers. Virtually all of those who were self-employed, or employers of others, reported decision autonomy for both the husband and wife in determining their activities. Two-thirds of the skilled workers tended to act and decide together. White-collar workers tended to be in between cooperative and autonomic patterns, with a tendency to be autonomous in their actions and decisions. Semi-skilled workers reported no particular tendency to exhibit one structure over another.

Dyer (1956) studied the interconnectedness of the work and family social systems with the father being the connecting link. He obtained data from forty-five blue-collar families in a small midwestern college town. There appeared to be considerable consensus among family members with respect to feelings about the father's job. The feelings the father had about his work were equivalent to the feelings other family members had about his work. Furthermore, the relative status of the father's occupation was well known and understood by other members of the family.

Bott (1957) examined the social networks of twenty British families and found considerable variation in the "connectedness" of these networks according to the occupation of the family head. By connectedness Bott (1957) means ". . .the extent to which the people known by a family know and meet one another independently of the family [p. 59]." Semi-skilled, manual families tended to have close-knit networks. Since work colleagues were also their neighbors, social relations among the members of the network tended to be concentrated in the local area around their homes. Professional families, in contrast, formed loose-knit networks. Through their education, profes-

sional training, and work activities, professionals tended to know many people who were not known by others in their network.

Variations in child rearing practices and attitudes toward their children have been found to be related to the husband's occupation (R. Blood, 1972). Miller and Swanson interviewed 582 mothers in the Detroit area in 1953 (Miller and Swanson, 1958). Children reared in "entrepreneurial" families (mainly self-employed husbands) were encouraged to exercise self-control, be self-reliant, and more manipulative toward their environment than children reared in "bureaucratic" families.

Aberle and Naegele (1952) interviewed twenty middle class families and found that the fathers expected their sons to take up middle class occupations similar to their own. The children (mainly their sons) were expected to exhibit behavior such as responsibility, initiative, good school performance, aggressiveness, and competitiveness. Each of these behaviors was revealed by the fathers to be significant requirements of their occupational roles.

The work and family social systems also articulate along the marital happiness and adjustment dimension. Oeser and Hammond (1954) found a correlation of .51 between dissatisfaction with job and tension at home. However, Goode (1964) reports that marriages in which the mother works increase in frequency of conflict, but do not change in level of marital happiness.

Families in which both the husband and wife work present the dual problem of the work experiences of both parties affecting the family. Goode (1964) points out that families in which the husband disapproves of the wife working exhibit a low level of marital adjustment. Bailyn (1970) examined marital adjustment among 200 dual career British couples. She found unhappy

marriages among those couples where the men placed virtually exclusive emphasis on their careers and the women preferred integrating their career with their family life. From data obtained from over 300 married British men, Fogarty, Rapoport, and Rapoport (1971) found higher proportions of "very happy" marriages when the wife worked and the husband integrated his career and family than when the husband did not integrate the two. Blood and Wolfe's study of 731 Detroit families revealed that marital satisfaction of the wife was greater when the wife worked and her income was apparently needed; the converse was true when her income was not needed (R. Blood and Wolfe, 1960).

Summary

The data from these studies suggested that individuals in higher level occupations were more active and involved in their leisure activities than those in lower level occupations. Individuals in lower level occupations chose less involving, or more passive, leisure pursuits. Furthermore, individuals in higher level occupations were found to be more active in voluntary associations than those in lower level occupations.

These data are perhaps indicative of the operation of the spillover model. Higher level occupations tend to be more demanding and involving--hence, the choice of more demanding and involving leisure activities. The converse, of course, would be true of those in lower level occupations. Higher level occupations may also allow the development of managerial and leadership skills that can be used in voluntary associations.

This interpretation is difficult to accept for two basic reasons. The first is the fact that specific characteristics of the occupations were not measured in any of the studies. Thus, it is not known what each job contained, nor is it known what the individual's reactions to his job were. Second, the

use of leisure activities and association memberships do not allow for the operation of individual differences in the meaning of these activities. The judgment of the meaning of the activities was made by the investigator and not by the individuals engaged in the activities. For these reasons, the data from these studies provide only weak support for the spillover model.

Some evidence existed in support of the idea that differences in jobs or occupations were related to differences in the continuation outside of work of friendships made at work. Blue-collar workers appeared to prefer a separation between their work and nonwork lives. White-collar workers and professionals, with some exceptions (e.g., Crozier, 1964), tended to see work colleagues away from work (Gerstl, 1961a; Parker, 1964, 1971).

Several factors other than the nature of a person's work appeared to influence the continuation away from work of friendship ties made at work. The tradition of an occupation (e.g., Lipset et al., 1956), and the simple availability of other options in the surrounding community (Blauner, 1964), appeared to be influencing factors. Another possibility, though not considered in these studies, is that people with a high need for affiliation may choose occupations in which this need may be satisfied and exhibit similar behavior in their off-work lives (Holland, 1973).

The marked separation between work and nonwork of blue-collar workers appeared very strongly when we looked at families of those in different occupations. Blue-collar workers tended not to talk about work at home and kept their leisure activities separated from those of their wives. Attitudes toward child rearing, and expectations of the behavior of their children, also seemed to be related to the occupation of the head of the household.

STUDIES PRESENTING MORE DIRECT EVIDENCE OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN WORK AND NONWORK

The studies reviewed in this section are those that have been most

directly concerned with the relationship between work and nonwork. These studies are distinguished from those reviewed above because they have generally been concerned with the functioning of either the spillover or compensatory models. Furthermore, they have also attempted to relate specific characteristics of a person's job or occupation to his nonwork activities and attitudes. There are also a small number of studies that have provided evidence of no relationship between the two spheres or indicate the effect of nonwork on work. Each of these groups of studies are discussed separately below.

Evidence of a Spillover Relationship

In the early twentieth century, Freeman (1921) observed the effects of mechanization in industry on the individual. His observations caused him to lament the extinction of craftsmanship. Men had been turned into unskilled factory labor compelled to work in dull and monotonous occupations. Factory work affected their aesthetic tastes. Men now chose to look at art rather than create it; listen to music rather than play it. The extinction of craftsmanship has created a man that lacked the ability to do things for himself.

Durant (1938) similarly reacted to what he saw as tastelessness in the leisure pursuits of the modern industrial worker. The "merchants of leisure" preyed upon these workers and provided leisure that was desired by the lowest common denominator among them. For Durant, the solution was to make work central in the lives of these workers; provide work that is more satisfying and demanding and leisure will take on a more tasteful character.

Mayo (1933) observed that increases in industrialization appeared to be correlated with increases in social disorganization manifested in increased juvenile delinquency, suicides and anomie. The quality of work life was, perhaps, responsible for this social disorganization.

In this way, early observers of the relationship between work and nonwork expressed their concern for the quality of working life "spilling over" and affecting, the quality of nonwork life. This concern was generally expressed in a negative way--a worry about "bad" experiences producing undesireable effects away from work.

Concern for the quality of the work experience affecting the nonwork experience has also been expressed by contemporary writers. Argyris' theory of personality and organization, for example, states that formal organizations have considerable impact on the individual and can shape his choice of leisure activities (Argyris, 1957, 1964, 1973). He tested the hypothesis that self-actualization at work was related to choice of creative leisure activities in an interview study of 34 skilled craft workers and 90 unskilled and semiskilled workers (Argyris, 1959). The hypothesis was confirmed. Ninety-three percent of the unskilled and semiskilled workers chose uncreative leisure activities such as watching TV, reading the newspaper, trimming the lawn, and puttering around the house. In contrast, 80 percent of the skilled craft workers selected creative leisure activities such as cabinet making, electrical work, plumbing, and reading. He concluded that creative work is linked to creative nonwork activities while uncreative work is linked to uncreative nonwork activities.

Gerstl (1961b) has also examined the spillover of characteristics of an individual's work experiences to his nonwork life among admen, dentists, and professors. He interviewed twenty-five individuals from each of these occupations and obtained data on some of their leisure activities. Professors tended to continue the sedentary character of their academic life in their nonwork life by not choosing to participate in sports activities. Dentists and admen were more active in sports, with the admen the most active. Dentists chose "do-

it-yourself" leisure activities that appeared to be a continuation of working with their hands in their occupations. Professors preferred listening to music over do-it-yourself activities.

Parker (1965) obtained questionnaire data from 344 British bank, youth employment, and child care employees. Youth employment and child care workers did not see their work as sharply separated from nonwork as bank employees. Furthermore, youth employment and child care workers tended to be more involved in their work than the bank employees. Parker (1965, 1971) considered this to be an "extension" of work into nonwork which is virtually identical to calling it spillover.

Zweig (1961) observed the spillover phenomenon among 672 workers from five British factories. Many workers reported carrying work worries home with them. This was particularly true of foremen. Willmott (1971) also observed this phenomenon among British workers in high level jobs. There was some evidence of the authoritarianism experienced at work being carried back home and affecting the worker's relationship with his wife and children.

In Zweig's study the spillover appeared to run in two directions. Workers not only reported worries at work continuing at home, but upsets and worries at home affected their work. In fact, for many workers the effects of home experiences reflected in their work much more strongly than the effects of work experiences reflected in their life at home. As he observed in an earlier study of British workers:

> A man is not one person at home and a different person at work, he is one and the same man. He projects his personal worries, frustrations and fears on to his workplace, and vice versa from workplace to home [Zweig, 1952: 97].

Odaka's typology of the work-leisure dichotomy contained one type that may be considered a spillover type (Odaka, 1970). His "integrated" type refers

to the situation where an individual sees his work and leisure as forming a whole. Odaka obtained data from 606 Japanese workers in a manufacturing plant. Workers in different jobs in the plant reported that they related work and nonwork somewhat differently. There was weak tendency in his data for more individuals in high level jobs to report an integration between work and nonwork than people in low level jobs.

Other investigators have chosen to focus on attitudes and the extent to which job attitudes spillover to the nonwork sphere. Harry (1971) examined the extent to which attitudes generated in the work setting spilled over to the nonwork setting. Data on attitudes toward nature and the use of natural resources were obtained from 2,412 summer visitors to three national forests and two state parks in the state of Washington. Occupations of respondents were classified as being either "Nature-Exploitive" (e.g. farming, mining, and logging) or "Nonexploitive" (e.g., manufacturing or service). Individuals in Nature-Exploitive occupations exhibited a significantly stronger attitude tendency for the economic utilization of natural resources, and the free use of natural resources while camping, than did individuals in Nonexploitive occupations. Harry concluded from these results that attitudes generated in the occupational setting carried over to the nonwork setting.

Kornhauser (1965) directly measured satisfaction with work and satisfaction with various aspects of nonwork. He obtained interview data from 407 Detroit factory workers. Positive correlations were found between job satisfaction and satisfaction with life in general, family, leisure, and community. All of the correlations were low with the exception of satisfaction with job and life in general. The positive correlations were interpreted by Kornhauser as evidence of the spillover of satisfactions (or dissatisfactions) at work to other areas of life.

Sheppard and Herrick (1972) obtained attitudinal evidence of the spillover phenomenon in several samples of blue-collar workers. Workers who were "discontented" reported feeling less politically effective than "contented" workers. No difference was found, however, between contented and discontented workers with respect to whether they voted or not. Furthermore, discontented workers reported greater feelings of alienation from life in general than contented workers.

Iris and Barrett (1972) measured attitudes toward various aspects of work and attitudes toward life, family, and leisure. Data were obtained from 34 foremen with low morale and 35 foremen with high morale. Significant positive correlations for the low morale foremen were found between satisfaction with supervision and satisfaction with life in general. Significant positive correlations were also obtained between satisfaction with pay and satisfaction with family and life in general. For the high morale foremen, only satisfaction with promotion was significantly correlated with satisfaction with life. There were no significant correlations between aspects of job satisfaction and satisfaction with leisure in either group. A spillover interpretation was given to the positive correlations between aspects of job satisfaction and aspects of life satisfaction.

Wilensky (1961) has taken a somewhat different approach to the work-nonwork issues than other investigators. His main concern was whether individuals who had orderly and predictable work careers would exhibit greater attachment to their community and greater involvement in voluntary associations. This is another way of saying that experiences in the work sector affect experiences in the nonwork sector. Wilensky obtained interview data from 678 urban white males of the upper-working and lower-middle classes in Detroit. Orderly work careers were found to be related to greater participation in voluntary associa-

tions and stronger ties to the local community as shown by support of local schools and contributions to churchs and charities.

None of the above studies directly measured characteristics of the jobs held by various workers. Investigators generally inferred the characteristics of the job from the job or occupational title. This approach has the obvious limitation of the investigator seeing the job in a different way than the job incumbent.

A study by Hagedorn and Labovitz (1968), however, used measures of the characteristics of occupations. They tested hypotheses derived from theories of alienation, socialization, and task generalization (cf. Breer and Locke, 1965). Questionnaire data were obtained from individuals in a number of different occupations; e.g., janitors, plumbers, machinists, physicists, managers, teachers, etc. Measures of certain characteristics of the occupations and the degree of participation in community associations were also obtained. Occupations containing a large proportion of people who perceived little or no importance in interpersonal contacts at work also contained large proportions of people who failed to participate in community associations. Also, the exercising of leadership skills at work was accompanied by high rates of participation. Each of these results may be interpreted as supporting the spillover hypothesis.

Parker (1964, 1971) interviewed 200 British men and women in business and service occupations. A much greater proportion of people in service occupations reported having close friends in the same or related work than people in business occupations (significant at the .01 level). Two components of the work situation were found to be significantly related to having close friends in the same or related work: high contact with customers or clients ($p < .05$) and autonomy in the work situation ($p < .01$). Although Parker does not

consider this possibility, jobs in which there is considerable contact with people may be held by individuals who wish to have such high social interaction (Holland, 1973). In short, people in service occupations with a high degree of contact with people may also be high in a need for affiliation.

Meissner (1971) obtained similar results in his interview study of 206 industrial workers on Vancouver Island. Each individual provided data on the extent to which he was tied to a single work station and the extent to which his work permitted social interaction with co-workers. Data were also obtained on the nature of leisure activities and the extent of participation in voluntary associations. Workers in jobs that tied them to a single work station, and who were unable to engage in social interaction while working, showed less social participation, and chose more socially isolated leisure activities than workers in jobs with the opposite characteristics. Hagedorn and Labovitz (1968), however, obtained the opposite result in their study. Occupations characterized by isolation from interpersonal contacts at work also had high participation rates in community associations. Perhaps this contradiction is explained by the common fault of imputing individual behavior to ecological correlations (Hammond, 1973; W. Robinson, 1950).

Although Kornhauser (1965) did not directly measure aspects of the job, his data showed repetitive factory workers as more socially withdrawn than higher skilled factory and white-collar workers. Form (1972) found much the same thing among automobile workers in four countries.

Kohn (1971) and Kohn and Schooler (1973) examined specific aspects of work with respect to various indices of psychological functioning away from work. Data were obtained from 3,101 men in a representative sample of all United States males in civilian occupations. Men who worked in bureaucratic organizations exhibited less anxiety, greater self-esteem, and receptivity

to change than men who worked in non-bureaucratic organizations. Complexity of work was positively related to self-esteem and receptivity to change, but closeness of supervision was negatively related to these variables. Intellectual flexibility and the choice of intellectually demanding leisure time activities were positively related to working in a bureaucratic organization and doing complex work and negatively related to routinization of work.

In a complex study designed to test the relative influence of work and social background variables on the choice of leisure activities. Wippler (1970) obtained data from a random sample of 883 individuals in one province of the Netherlands. He found some evidence in his data to support the spillover hypothesis. However, his data did not support what other investigators believed regarding the development of skills in the work setting and the carry over of these skills to nonwork (cf. Breer and Locke, 1965; Hagedorn and Labovitz, 1968; Meissner, 1971; Wilensky, 1960). His data also did not support the compensatory prediction of strains at work being relieved away from work. Furthermore, in contrast to the prevailing opinion among many investigators, variables measuring the work situation and work conditions explained very little of the variance in leisure behavior. His measures of social background variables were the best predictors of this behavior.

Evidence of a Compensatory Relationship

The second major explanation of the relationship between work and nonwork is compensatory. Here the individual is viewed as making up for deprivations experienced at work in his activities away from work. A sharp separation is generally observed between behavior in the work sphere and behavior in the nonwork sphere.

The drinking and sexual habits of factory workers captured the attention of some early investigators as examples of the compensatory phenomenon.

Frederick Engels (1958), for example, described the English factory worker of the nineteenth century as compensating for the drudgeries of his work by engaging in excessive drinking and sexual intercourse.

Fitch (1911) considered the drinking habits of American steel workers in the early twentieth century to be compensation for what those workers endured in the mills. A large number of workers habitually stopped in a saloon on the way from work. The cool drink possibly provided compensation for the heat of the mills.

Dennis, Henriques, and Slaughter (1956) observed that the occupation of coal miners is fraught with insecurities steeming from the inherent danger of their job and interruptions in income from injuries and layoffs. The primary leisure activity of the miners was drinking and gambling. The former appeared to provide escape from day-to-day concerns and the dangers of the occupation. The latter, if the miner won, provided money for the former.

Tunstall's study of trawler fisherman in Hull, England shows some of the compensatory reactions of individuals in this extreme occupation (Tunstall, 1962). Fishermen would normally be at sea for three weeks followed by a few days off at home. These men concentrated their drinking into these few days since no liquor was permitted aboard the trawlers at sea.

Blum (1953) observed a sharp separation between work and nonwork among workers in a meat packing plant. Workers rarely talked about their work when they were off the job. These workers had a strong desire for engaging in creative activities away from work. Their work did not permit creativity or self-expression; thus, they tended to seek creativity in their nonwork activities.

Chinoy (1955) found a similar separation in the lives of the automobile workers he studied. Workers had little reason to work other than for pay. No

emphasis was placed on working or the product of their labor. Rather, the focus of these workers was on their leisure time where they could spend the money they received for their work. The leisure activities of these workers appeared to provide the self-fullfillment that was absent from their job.

Blue-collar workers are not alone in attempting to find compensation for the deprivations of their work in their life away from work. Mills (1951) observed the same sharp split between work and nonwork among white-collar workers. He viewed white-collar workers in the mid-twentieth century as working to obtain the wherewithal for consumption away from work. The worker is alienated from work and seeks his satisfactions in the nonwork sphere:

> Work is split from the rest of life, especially from the spheres of conscious enjoyment; nevertheless, most men and many women must work. So work is an unsatisfactory means to ulterior ends lying somewhere in the sphere of leisure. The necessity to work and alienation from it make up its grind, and the more grind there is, the more need to find relief in the jumpy or dreamy models available in modern leisure [p. 237].

Zweig (1952) emphasized the compensatory role of hobbies for many British workers. Work is something a man frequently must do just to make a living. He does not freely choose to work and may dislike what he is doing. However, his hobbies provide the opportunity to regain some of this lost freedom. His hobbies are freely chosen and may permit him to find expression of his personality. The choice of hobbies was often sharply different from what the individual did at work. Clerical workers, for example, preferred model making and handicrafts--hobbies which provided them the opportunity to use their hands and tools which was something their work did not provide. Parker also found that British bank employees and manual workers saw their leisure activities as markedly different from their work (Parker, 1965, 1971).

Zurcher (1968, 1970) introduced the concept of an "ephemeral role" as a means of explaining some of the functions that leisure roles may perform for an individual. He defines an ephemeral role as a voluntarily chosen behavior pattern designed to satisfy social-psychological needs that are incompletely satisfied in more dominant roles.

Zurcher (1970) examined the functions of an ephemeral role in the context of a bi-monthly poker game in which he participated. In the ephemeral role of poker player, Zurcher observed that individuals were able to engage in competition, demonstrate their playing skills, and exercise decision making (e.g., bluff or not bluff). He interpreted these activities as possibly compensating for the absence or insufficient presence of these same characteristics in other, more dominant life roles, especially occupation.

In a more recent study, Steele and Zurcher (1973) tested the apparent compensatory character of the emphemeral role of leisure activities. Questionnaire data were obtained from 190 bowlers in the Austin, Texas area. White-collar workers, more so than blue-collar workers, reported that bowling allowed them the opportunity to relax from the strains of their work and separate themselves from their work. Blue-collar workers focused their responses on the opportunity that bowling provided for them to enhance their self-identity and affiliate with others.

Being sharply focused on work and nonwork may be related to the degree of separation that an individual creates between the work and nonwork spheres of his life. Goldstein and Eichhorn (1961) measured the work orientation of 260 farmers. High work-oriented farmers showed the least interest in spending their time at leisure. They were least likely to spend time in leisure pursuits with their families and were not likely to participate in organizational activities such as lodge meetings, farm organization meetings, or church

activities. High work-oriented farmers were also least likely to hold positions of leadership in farm organizations.

Research concerned with a work versus nonwork orientation has shown considerable occupational variation. The studies are uniform in finding that greater percentages of workers in "higher" level occupations tend to be work-oriented (Odaka, 1970; Orzack, 1959) or identify themselves with their work (Neulinger and Breit, 1971), and greater percentages of workers in "low" level occupations tend to be nonwork oriented (Dubin, 1956). However, Neulinger and Raps (1972) were unable to replicate occupational differences in identification with work among members of the Mensa Society. Furthermore, Jackson's study in the Albuquerque Public Schools (R. Jackson, 1973) revealed a possible ethnic or cultural dimension to the work versus nonwork orientation. Anglo workers reported greater self-definition through their work than Mexican-American workers.

None of these studies measured leisure activity preferences. However, if the finding of the Goldstein and Eichhorn (1961) study is generalizable beyond their sample of farmers, the implication of the above studies is that individuals who focus strongly on either work or nonwork may also perceive a sharp demarcation between these two spheres.

As with the studies discussed earlier dealing with the spillover relationship between work and nonwork, merely using job title or occupation in an analysis does not provide us with data on specific characteristics of jobs that may be related to a compensatory orientation. Only a few studies in the literature contained data of this kind.

Cotgrove (1965) obtained data from 94 British technicians. Workers reported whether they derived satisfaction in their work from its extrinsic features (pay, security, hours of work) or from its intrinsic features (use of abilities and education, interest, learn their job). Eighty-nine percent

of the workers who derived work satisfaction from the extrinsic features of their job were "family-centered" versus 58 percent of those who derived satisfaction from the intrinsic features. Spreitzer and Snyder (1973) obtained the same result in a sample of American workers. Workers who failed to obtain intrinsic rewards from their job tended to identify themselves with their leisure activities.

Bishop and Ikeda (1970) performed a multiple discriminant analysis of leisure behavior data obtained from 310 respondents in 18 occupational groups. Their third discriminant function, though difficult to interpret, suggested a compensatory relationship between the physical and mental energy requirements of an occupation and the choice of leisure activities by individuals in that occupation. At the same time, however, a spillover relationship was implied between the interpersonal requirements of an occupation and the selection of leisure activities that may require intimate personal relationships. This latter finding was explained by Bishop and Ikeda as resulting from the personal characteristics of the individuals. People who have a strong need for affiliation may select forms of work and leisure that satisfy that need. This study clearly suggests that individuals may form a compensatory relationship between some aspects of their work and nonwork lives and a spillover relationship between other aspects.

Evidence of No Relationship

The spillover and compensatory relationships between work and nonwork have received the greatest attention in the literature. Each of these models of the work-nonwork relationship presumes some affect of work experiences on nonwork experiences. In the case of the spillover model, the effect is a continuation of work experiences away from work. In the compensatory model,

there is a reaction to work experiences that guides the selection of nonwork experiences. A third model is logically possible and has been considered to some extent in the literature. This model hypothesizes no relationship between experiences in the work sphere and experiences in the nonwork sphere.

The institutional differentiation of contemporary societies is extensive. Each of these institutions is physically, temporally, and functionally segregated. The implication for the individual is that each institution may make separate and nearly independent value and behavioral demands of him. His behavior in one institution may not necessarily be related to his behavior in another (Dubin, 1973; Meissner, 1971).

Parker (1971) has presented his "neutrality" type as representing the situation where there is minimal contact between the work and nonwork spheres. Definitionally, Parker's neutrality type is identical to no relationship between work and nonwork. However, his discussion of the characteristics of this type of individual raises some questions:

> . . .people showing the neutrality pattern are neither so engrossed in their work that they want to carry it over into non-work time nor so damaged by it that they develop a hostile or love-hate relation to it. Instead, work leaves them comparatively unmarked and free to carry over into leisure the non-involvement and passivity which characterizes their attitude to work. In other words, detachment from any real responsibility for and interest in work leads to detachment from any active and constructive leisure pursuits [p. 105].

From his own discussion it appears that Parker is actually describing a spillover type. Non-involvement in work leads to non-involvement away from work.

Finally, we have Odaka's "split" type (Odaka, 1970). His description of this type leaves no question that he is talking about mutual separation and independence of the work and nonwork spheres. His study is also the only study which presents empirical data measuring this type. Data from 606 Japanese

industrial workers indicated some job differences in this type. Approximately equal percentages of operatives, supervisory, and administrative personnel viewed their work and nonwork lives as sharply split in contrast to a substantially smaller percentage of technical workers who viewed their work and nonwork lives in this way.

From Nonwork to Work

Throughout this review the emphasis has been on the effect of experiences at work on experiences away from work. Realistically, of course, considering work as affecting nonwork is only one side of the issue. It is self-evident that the two spheres are in mutual relation. Factors outside of the work setting may influence an individual's reaction to his work (Cotgrove and Parker, 1963; D'Olieslager, 1968; Dumazedier, 1967; Shimmin, 1962).

Arensberg (1942) was among the first to observe that keeping work and community separated may lead to an inability to understand some phenomena occurring in the work setting. He illustrated his point from a case he discovered in his study of industrial conflict.

The paper-machine crew in a paper mill went on strike. The apparent reason for the strike was the introduction of an incentive system in the cutting-room. Management could not comprehend the reason for this strike since the paper-machine crew was not directly affected by the incentive system. The explanation had to be found outside the plant:

> The two sets of workers were bound by ties of kinship and by traditional patterns of age and occupational prestige, entirely outside the factory. The company's engineers had. . .reversed the customary patterns of authority; they had set juniors and inferiors to hurrying up their seniors and superiors. The machine-room men had struck against the disturbance of their community [p. 6].

Tunstall's study of trawler fishermen in Hull, England showed how attitudes toward pay were shaped in the context of the family (Tunstall, 1962). The fishermen received both a basic wage and a percentage of the gross of the catch. They customarily gave their basic wage to their wives and kept the percentage for themselves. The percentage had not changed over many years although the basic had. Tunstall reported that the fishermen came to distrust any increase in the basic wage. Furthermore, they were considered by Tunstall to possibly become more distrustful and resistant to any attempts to negotiate a large increase in the basic to compensate for a drop in weight of the total catch. "In this way attitudes to pay, which are shaped in the context of the family, carry over into the field of trade unionism and labour-management relations [p. 165] .

A major concern of some investigators has been the orientation that workers bring with them to the work setting. Goldthorpe and his colleagues (Goldthorpe, 1966; Goldthorpe et al., 1968a, 1968b, 1969) have stressed the importance of treating the worker's prior orientation to work as a variable independent of the work setting. The attitudes they bring to work are not necessarily affected by their experiences at work. The orientation they bring with them is viewed as a product of their experiences outside of work.

Goldthorpe and his colleagues analyzed interview data from 229 British industrial workers in three plants and 54 white-collar workers from the same plants. They concluded from their data that these workers had a primarily instrumental orientation to work; i.e., they worked primarily for the pay they received and not for the satisfaction of higher order needs. They argued that this attachment to pay was a product of an orientation these workers brought with them to the workplace. They selected these relatively high

paying industrial jobs because they wanted the higher pay they knew they could obtain. Furthermore, this "instrumental orientation" was found to pervade their trade union and political attitudes.

A similar instrumental orientation to work was noted by Cotgrove (1965) in his study of 94 British technicians. Ninety percent of his sample reported that "good pay" was the expectation they held of what they wanted from their work.

In an attempt to explain the absence of any relationship between size of organization and turnover, Ingham (1970) employed the concept of worker's prior expectations of what they wanted from their work. Data from samples of workers in eight British firms of different sizes indicated that workers in small firms were primarily interested in noneconomic rewards while workers in large firms were mainly interested in economic rewards. Small firms could offer such noneconomic rewards as more job autonomy and responsibility and a less impersonal work environment. Large firms were more bureaucratic and impersonal but could offer satisfactory wages. Ingham concluded that the absence of a relationship between firm size and turnover was due to the matching of rewards from the firms with the expectations of what the workers wanted from their work. The notion of "met expectations" as an explanatory factor of low turnover has also been emphasized by Porter and Steers (1973).

Students of job design and job enlargement have come to be concerned with the background of workers in attempting to understand differential reactions to the content of their jobs. Dalton (1947, 1948) examined the social background of workers in a machine shop to determine whether these factors could explain differences in reactions to a wage incentive system. Workers with the greatest response to the incentives tended to be more educated

than others, came from a rural background, were loosely Protestant in religion, and highly individualistic in their personal philosophy.

A continuation of this concern with social background can be seen in the current emphasis in job enlargement with "alienation from middle class norms." Presumably workers who are not alienated from middle class norms hold to the Protestant Ethic of hard work, but those who are alienated do not (Hulin and M. Blood, 1968). Turner and Lawrence (1965) studied 47 jobs sampled from 11 companies and found no relationship between job scope and worker satisfaction with the job. In other words, jobs that were high in autonomy, variety, and responsibility, did not necessarily induce a positive response in the job incumbent. It was only after considering the social background of the workers in their sample that they were able to explain this seeming paradox. Workers with a rural background had positive reactions to jobs wide in scope, but workers with an urban background had negative reactions to jobs wide in scope. The latter group evidently preferred simple jobs to complex ones.

Blood and Hulin (1967) reported a similar result in their secondary analysis of data obtained by Smith, Kendall, and Hulin (1969). The concept of "alienation from middle class norms" was used to understand worker's reactions to their jobs. Alienation was not directly measured in this study, but was indexed based on the conditions of the community surrounding the plants. Urbanized settings with slum conditions and considerable urban growth were considered to be conditions that fostered alienation. Workers had been asked to rank their jobs as well as other areas of their life in terms of the personal satisfaction they provided. Workers who accepted middle class norms were expected to rank their jobs first. Among blue-collar workers only, 61 of 84 predictions were in the expected direction.

A recent study by Stone and Porter (1973), however, questions this conclusion. In a sample of urban blue-collar workers, significant positive correlations were found between the amount of variety and autonomy in a job and the satisfaction of the job incumbent with his work.

Summary

The literature most directly concerned with the relationship between work and nonwork was decidedly ambiguous in the research results. We cannot conclude that individuals in a given job or work setting will clearly form a spillover or compensatory relationship between work and nonwork, or maintain independence between the two spheres.

Blue-collar and white-collar workers, as a group, were found to form both spillover and compensatory relationships between work and nonwork (cf. Argyris, 1959; Blum, 1953; Chinoy, 1955; Meissner, 1971; Mills, 1951; Parker, 1965, 1971; Sheppard and Herrick, 1972). In addition, Odaka (1970) found that the no relationship model was characteristic of Japanese blue-collar and white-collar workers.

Some explanation of this ambiguity seems possible. The attempt to directly link activities, behaviors, and occasionally attitudes in the two spheres is perhaps indicative of a confusion of the appropriate level of analysis. At the societal level, sociologists have frequently concerned themselves with the relationship among the many institutions of a society. Historically, the work institution has been viewed as a focal one (Dubin, 1973), and, in fact, is dominant in Marxian thinking with respect to its impact on the total society (Sorokin, 1928). A number of important issues exist in the concern with the integration and interdependence of many social

institutions, but these issues are not concerned with the nature of an individual's adjustment to the demands of the work and nonwork spheres.

The compensatory, spillover, and no relationship models, however, are directly concerned with the adjustment of individuals to their two major sectors of social experience. They are not concerned with the way in which various institutions of society come to be integrated. Consequently, the individual becomes the appropriate level of analysis, and an important variable, in research directed at these models.

Some research done to date has obtained data from individuals and has frequently conducted analyses at the level of the individual (e.g. Hagedorn and Labovitz, 1968; Meissner, 1971). These studies were attempts to directly link aspects of the work sphere to aspects of the nonwork sphere. Although there would certainly appear to be individual differences in the choice of leisure activities regardless of the type of job a person holds (Kando and Summers, 1971; Sorokin and Berger, 1939), past research has failed to consider these individual differences. Furthermore, the link between work and nonwork may not be direct. The individual, and all of his individual characteristics, may operate as an intermediary or moderator in the link between the two spheres.

DISCUSSION

The following discussion will focus on two different but related sets of issues raised by this review: (1) the substantive conclusions we can draw from the theoretical and empirical work done to date, and (2) recommendations for future research intended to correct the deficiencies of past research and build upon what we know.

CONCLUSIONS

Attempts at building theory about the work-nonwork relationship are characterized by the assumption that the institution of work is in some way separated from the institutions away from work. This would seem to be a defensible assumption, especially in highly differentiated industrial societies.

A second characteristic of all the theories designed to explain the specific relationships between work and nonwork is that they postulate either a spillover or a compensatory relationship between the two spheres. Spillover suggests that the spheres are in some way congruent; compensatory suggests they are in contrast. In only a few instances has it been suggested that these contrasts and congruences can have different forms (Faunce and Dubin, in press; Wippler, 1970).

Thus, theory in this area is in a rather crude stage of development. The only attempt at a reasonably comprehensive theory (Kando and Summers, 1971) is plagued with the unexplainable distinction between the form of leisure activities affecting the spillover relationship and the meaning of leisure activities affecting the compensatory relationship. Suggestions have been made that the work-nonwork relationship is dynamic and changes over the life cycle of the individual (Faunce and Dubin, in press). Furthermore, some empirical evidence exists for the contention that individuals may be selective in the portions of the work and nonwork spheres that they relate in a spillover or compensatory fashion (Bishop and Ikeda, 1970). These ideas have yet to be incorporated into a more complete theoretical framework of the relationship between work and nonwork.

The empirical research directed at the work-nonwork relationship is best described as inconclusive. Early work was mainly concerned with occupational differences in patterns of leisure activities, social participation, friendship networks, and family activities. This research allows us to draw such conclusions as "people in higher level occuations tend to be more active and involved in their leisure activities than those in lower occupations." While this knowledge is valuable in itself it does not provide direct tests of either the spillover or compensatory models since judgments of similarities and dissimilarities of behaviors in the two spheres were made by the researchers and not the individuals themselves.

Later research directly related specific characteristics of an individual's job to his leisure activities (Hagedorn and Labovitz, 1968; Kohn, 1971; Kohn and Schooler, 1973; Meissner, 1971). Here we found that individuals in jobs requiring the use of social skills tended to engage in activities away from work that would appear to demand these same skills. The difficulty with this research, as with the earlier research, is that individuals in the samples were not asked to describe how they viewed their nonwork activities, or what it was they obtained from them. Rather, the investigators applied their own interpretations to reports of leisure activities.

Arguing for the use of a person's perceptions of his work and nonwork experiences in attempting to determine the relationship between work and nonwork may be critized by many sociologists as not in the domain of sociological research. The fact is that sociologists have been doing just about all of the theoretical and empirical work in this area. Future research may benefit by a more interdisciplinary approach to the issues. The following description of possible research to be done in the future reflects this interdisciplinary orientation.

FUTURE RESEARCH

The need for more research can be readily justified. Aside from any methodological deficiencies in past research, the simple fact that the future seems to hold the prospect for both a decrease in the hours of work and the days of work (Pearson, 1973; Poor, 1970), makes it imperative to increase our knowledge of the way an individual reacts to his experiences at work and how these experiences are related to his experiences away from work.

Some writers have suggested that the relationship an individual forms between work and nonwork may change during a person's life cycle (Faunce and Dubin, in press). A longitudinal research design would be a rigorous way of determining whether changes in the work-nonwork relationship occur for an individual over time. The relationship an individual perceives between work and nonwork at the time of graduation from school, or at the time of entry into a work organization, can be assessed and then compared to their perceived relationships at several points over some time period.

Virtually all of the past research has focused on the work variable as the significant variable in determining the nature of experiences away from work. It must be recognized that work is but one factor in the determination of what an individual does away from work. Past socialization in the family, habit, and custom certainly contribute to the determination of nonwork behavior (Burch, 1969). A study designed in somewhat the same way as Wippler's study (Wippler, 1970) would allow us to determine the relative potency of the work variable vis-à-vis the many other variables that may influence behavior away from work. At the same time, however, if the study is to focus specifically on the spillover or compensatory models, then the

use of perceptions of work and nonwork experiences would seem to be necessary in order to account for individual differences in the choice of leisure activities.

A study designed to expand our understanding of the differential impact of specific aspects of work on specific aspects of nonwork (Bishop and Ikeda, 1970), would broaden our view of the relationship between work and nonwork. The spillover and compensatory models do not imply that there is a uniform relationship between all aspects of work experiences and all aspects of nonwork experiences. Individuals probably are adaptable enough to differentially relate various aspects of both spheres.

The contemporary rise in dual career families, should increase our concern with the dual impact of work on nonwork. If work is a variable significantly influencing what a person does away from work, then if both the husband and wife work, we might expect to find strong impacts on the nonwork behavior of the total family. Furthermore, the individual adjustments to work and nonwork made by the husband and wife may not be compatible and could be a source of marital tension (Bailyn, 1970; Fogarty et al., 1971). A study based on a sample of dual career families could be performed with the objective of determining the nature of the work-nonwork relationship for both the husband and wife and the effect of these relationships on a broad range of family activities and marital attitudes.

The final recommendation is more an appeal for the use of representative samples in future research than a recommendation for a specific kind of study. With the very few exceptions noted in this review, most of the past research has focused either on small samples, or on samples drawn from a limited number of organizations and geographical areas. Small scale studies are necessary

to explore initial ideas and hypotheses, rough model construction, and tests of new research approaches. However, for us ultimately to obtain an understanding of what is inherently a complicated issue, we must conduct studies on a national scale with representative samples. It is only with such studies that we can abandon value laden rhetoric and substitute solid scientific conclusions about the relationship between work and non-work.

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